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MONDAY, OCTOBER 18, 1926

WHOLE NO. 533

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THE RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN THE SATIRES OF JUVENAL

The disbelief of a large number of Romans in their gods and their religion is revealed in the lines of Juvenal, in which the satirist, writing about Charon and the Styx, and the thousands of souls whom Charon ferries across the Styx, says (2.152): *nec pueri credunt, nisi qui nondum aere lavantur*. While this disbelief grew apace in the first century A. D., we must not forget that Cicero, the augur, had written at length in his *De Divinatione* to disprove the very augural art he professed to expound, and that he had flatly denied divination in the words *divinationem nego* (2.45), and that Caesar had been Pontifex Maximus.

Juvenal¹ ridicules the belief in the underworld, in a passage in which he pictures the father of the family as sitting in Hades, while the members of his household, ignorant of his sudden death, are busily preparing for his return home (3.264-267):

at ille
iam sedet in ripa, taetrumque novicius horret
porthmea nec sperat caenosi gurgitis alnum,
infelix nec habet quem porrigat ore trientem.

This disbelief in the state religion helps us to understand why sacrilege was so prevalent in Rome in the time of Juvenal; at least the repeated mention of it suggests its common occurrence. Juvenal consoles his friend, Calvinus, for the loss of money which the latter had entrusted to an unscrupulous friend; and, as a balm to Calvinus, he recalls other worse crimes (13.147-152)—the pilfering of massive goblets from the temples, the stealing of the crowns of ancient kings (150-152):

haec ibi si non sunt, minor exstat sacrilegus qui
radat inaurati femur Herculis et faciem ipsam
Neptuni, qui bratteolam de Castore ducat....

In lamenting the fact that the military men have the advantage in all matters at Rome, Juvenal writes (16.35-50) that, if one neighbor should dig up the sacred stone that marks the boundary of his neighbor's farm, the outraged farmer would be compelled to wait for a whole year for his grievance to be taken up, for the soldier would have the preference in the courts. In 13.75-76, Juvenal says that it is easy for one to scorn the gods above *si mortalis idem nemo sciat*. One may, in such a case, swear safely by the rays of the sun, by the lightnings of Jupiter, by the *frama* of Mars, by the darts of Apollo, by the arrows and the quiver of the huntress maiden, by the trident of Neptune, by the bow of Hercules, and by all the weapons in the armory of the heavens (13.84-85):

¹Compare Samuel Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 445-446 (London, Macmillan and Co., 1904).

²Juvenal will be cited by the edition of S. G. Owen, Oxford Classical Texts Series (1907).

si vero et pater est, 'Comedam' inquit 'flebile nati
sinciput elixi Pharioque madentis aceto'.

Although he fears that his crime will be punished, and that the gods exist, still the perjurer justifies his action thus (13.92-94):

'Decernat quodcumque volet de corpore nostro
Isis et irato feriat mea lumina sistro,
dummodo vel caecus teneam quos abnego nummos'.

The gods sometimes favor those who commit crime, and so the perjurer reasons thus (13.102-105):

'...sed et exorabile numen
fortasse experiar, solet his ignoscere. multi
committunt eadem diverso crimina fato:
ille crucem sceleris pretium tulit, hic diadema'.

The man who has committed a crime trembles at lightning and thunder; if he suffers pain or has a fever that causes sleeplessness, he believes that these evils are due to the hostility of a god (13.223-232).

There are those who ascribe all things to fortune: the world has no guide, *atque ideo intrepidi quaecumque altaria tangunt* (13.86-89). He who has been guilty of some dire crime *te sacra ad delubra vocantem praecedit*.... (13.107-108). As soon as the boy begins to comb his beard, he will become a perjurer *Cereris tangens aramque pedemque* (14.216-219).

Crispinus is bluntly accused of a *liaison* with a Vestal Virgin (4.8-10):

et idem
incestus, cum quo nuper vittata iacebat
sanguine adhuc vivo terram subitura sacerdos.

Domitian's interest in Crispinus prevented the traditional punishment for this crime.

The contracting for the building of temples, Umbricius suggests, was not untinctured with 'graft', for, in recounting to Juvenal the reasons why he prefers to leave the city, he says (3.30-32):

maneant qui nigrum in candida vertunt,
quis facile est aedem conducere flumina portus,
siccandam eluviem, portandum ad busta cadaver....

The temples of the gods afforded a gathering-place for questionable characters. Naevolus, whose filthy life Juvenal lashes in the ninth satire, was wont to haunt the Temple of Isis, the statue of Ganymedes in the Temple of Peace, the *secreta Palatia* of Magna Mater, and the Temple of Ceres (22-24). Then Juvenal adds parenthetically (24): *nam quo non prostat femina templo?*

The real god of the Romans, to Juvenal's bitter seeming, is Wealth, although no temples have been erected in Rome to this divinity (1.109-116). In Juvenal's day, the sacred spot where Numa had held trust with Egeria—the sacred grove and the fountain outside the Porta Capena—was rented out to Jews, and was thronged with beggars (3.12-16)³. The poor

³Compare Sir J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 1.18.

man is thought by the rich to despise all things sacred, and is not expected to keep his word (3.144-146):

iures licet et Samothracum
et nostrorum aras, contemnere fulmina pauper
creditur atque deos dis ignoscentibus ipsis.

That the Romans of Juvenal's times, as a whole, were sceptical in religious matters is, however, far from the truth. This is shown by the fact that Juvenal again and again satirizes prayers offered, with all seriousness, to the gods. In 10.23-25 we read:

prima fere vota et cunctis notissima templis
divitiae, crescant ut opes, ut maxima toto
nostra sit arca foro.

Prayers, answered by the complaisant gods, have subverted whole families, says Juvenal (10.7-8). Sejanus, who prayed for honors and wealth overmuch (10.105-107),

...numerosa parabat
excelsae turris tabulata, unde altior esset
casus et inpulsa praecipue inmane ruinae.

One prays for length of years; he is compelled to behold the funeral of his children, his wife, his brothers and sisters (10.243-245):

haec data poena diu viventibus, ut renovata
semper clade domus multis in luctibus inque
perpetuo maerore et nigra veste senescant.

Priam attained great age (10.265-266):

longa dies igitur quid contulit? omnia vident
eversa et flammis Asiam ferroque cadentem.

The mother prays (10.289-292) in an undertone to Venus for beauty for her boys, but in louder tones for beauty for her daughters; and she excuses herself by thinking of Latona, who delighted in the comeliness of her daughter. Men have prayed for the highest preferment in life, the attainment of which has been the source of their downfall (10.104-107). Others pray for eloquence, but their eloquence causes their ruin (10.114-119). The longing for the rewards of war has brought about the ruin of native land (10.133-146). Pompey contracted a fever in Campania, and many cities offered up public prayers for his recovery (10.285-286):

...igitur Fortuna ipsius et urbis
servatum victo caput abstulit.

The Lares, whom Tibullus invokes with tenderness and affection, Juvenal represents the Roman of his day praying to as follows (9.137-140):

oparvi nostrique Lares, quos tunc minuto
aut farre et tenui soleo exorare corona,
quando ego figam aliquid, quo sit mihi tuta senectus
a tegete et baculo?

The objects of this man's prayer are twenty thousand sesterces in interest, small dishes of plain silver, two sturdy slaves, a chaser (*caelator*), a painter. This he considers a *votum miserabile*.

The Romans of Juvenal's day were apparently clamant in addressing their divinities, for we read (13.31-33):

nos hominum divumque fidem clamore ciemus,
quanto Faesidium laudat vocalis agentem
sportula?

Juvenal's own attitude toward prayers is expressed in these lines (10.54-55):

ergo supervacua aut prope perniciose petuntur,
propter quae fas est genua incrare deorum.

A Roman matron kept asking Janus and Vesta, with sacrificial meal and wine, whether her paramour, Pollio, should expect the prize of oak leaves at the Capitoline Games. Juvenal addresses Janus thus (6.393-397):

dic mihi nunc quaeso, dic, antiquissime divum,
respondes his, Iane pater? magna otia caeli;
non est, quod video, non est quod agatur apud vos.
haec de comoedis te consulit, illa tragoedum
commendare volet, varicosus fiet haruspex.

These lines indicate clearly Juvenal's disgust with the kind of prayers which his contemporaries offered to their gods—little more than bargains with divinity for questionable ends.

In 12.128-130, Juvenal prays that Pacuvius may live to be as old as Nestor; that he may have plunder equal to that of Nero; that he may have gold mountain-high *nec amet quemquam nec ametur ab ullo* (130). He urges that the gods be allowed to determine what is best for man (10.349-350),

nam pro iucundis aptissima quaeque dabunt di.
carior est illis homo quam sibi.

A little farther on in the same satire, we find those lines the sentiment of which is familiar to those who know little else about Juvenal (354-356):

ut tamen et poscas aliquid voveasque sacellis
exta et candiduli divina tomacula porci,
orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.

One should pray for a heart that has no fear of death, regarding the end of life as one of nature's gifts, ready to endure hardship, free from anger, covetousness, and luxury.

The nearest approach to affection in the prayers of Juvenal is in 7.207-210, where, with a delicacy of touch that is rare in the satirist, he writes a kindly word about teachers:

di maiorum umbris tenuem et sine pondere terram
spirantisque crocos et in urna perpetuum ver,
qui praeceptorem sancti voluere parentis
esse loco....

Juvenal harks back to the days when religion was simple and pure (11.111-114). The image of Jupiter was earthen; the gods feasted alone, not above the clouds on Olympus (13.46-52):

...nec turba deorum <fuit>
talis ut est hodie, contentaque sidera paucis
numinibus miserum urgebant Atlanta minori
pondere, nondum aliquis sortitus triste profundum
imperium aut Sicula torvos cum coniuge Pluto,
nec rota nec Furiae nec saxum aut vulturis atri
poena, sed infernis hilares sine regibus umbrae.

The decline in the faith which men reposed in the traditional religion had led to the introduction of many Eastern cults. Among these, Bellona and Magna Mater received the worship of great numbers. Juvenal describes (6.511-526), with great vividness, the entrance into a household of a chorus of frenzied worshippers of Bellona and Magna Mater: at their head, the enormous *semivir*, who bids the matron fear the coming of September and the South Wind, unless she purifies herself for the year with eggs, and makes him a present of her old cloak (520-521):

ut quidquid subiti et magni discriminis instat,
in tunicas eat, et totum semel expiet annum.

This woman is willing to break the ice of the Tiber, and plunge into its chill depths (523-526):

ter matutino Tiberi mergetur et ipsis
verticibus timidum caput abluet, inde superbi
totum regis agrum nuda ac tremibunda cruentis
crepet genibus....

If Io command her, she will go to Egypt and bring holy water from Lake Meroe, to sprinkle on the shrine of Isis, believing that the goddess herself has spoken to her; she honors Anubis and his followers, clad in linen; a goose and a thin sacrificial cake will secure pardon for her faults. Then follows Juvenal's comment⁴ on this procedure: *en animam et mentem cum qua di nocte loquantur* (531).

The popularity of astrology in the period of the Empire was tremendous⁵ (7.194-196):

distat enim quae
sidera te excipiant modo primos incipientem
edere vagitus et adhuc a matre rubentem.

Umbricius, in taking leave of his friend, Juvenal, and Rome, says (3.41-43):

quid Romae faciam? mentiri nescio; librum,
si malus est, nequeo laudare et poscere; motus
astrorum ignoro; funus promittere patris
nec volo nec possum; ranarum viscera numquam
insexi....

In the sixth satire, Juvenal writes (553-555):

Chaldaeis sed maior erit fiducia; quidquid
dixerit astrologus, credent a fonte relatum
Hammonis....

The type of astrologer who has the greatest vogue is he who has seen the prison camp and has had irons clanging on his arms (6.562-564):

nemo mathematicus genium indemnatus habebit,
sed qui paene perit, cui vix in Cyclada mitti
contigit et parva tandem curasse Serpho.

Tanaquil makes inquiries concerning the wished-for death of her mother, her sister, her uncles, and whether her paramour will outlive her (6.569-571):

haec tamen ignorat quid sidus triste minetur
Saturni, quo laeta Venus se proferat astro,
quis mensis damnis, quae dentur tempora lucro....

Juvenal warns (6.572-587) against meeting one who has in her hands *tritas ephemeridas*, who will refuse to accompany her husband to camp, if the numbers of Thrasyllus recall her; who consults her book, if she intends driving merely as far as the first milestone, or if the corner of her eye twitches; if, when she is ill, she will take food at the hour prescribed by Petosiris. Women of slender means will have their fortunes told at the *metae* of the Circus; those in more comfortable circumstances will have a Phrygian or an Indian augur, with knowledge of the stars and heavens, tell their fortunes⁶.

Writing about Sejanus and his inglorious end, Juvenal says (10.90-94):

visne salutari sicut Seianus, habere
tantundem, atque illi summas donare curules,

⁴Compare Dill, *Roman Society*, etc., 64.

⁵Compare Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, English Translation, 162 (Chicago, The Open Court Publishing Company, 1911).

⁶Compare Dill, 447-448.

illum exercitibus praeponere, tutor haberi
principis angusta Caprearum in rupe sedentis
cum grege Chaldaeo?

There is some mention of magic and soothsaying in Juvenal. Writing about the women of his day, the satirist says (6.610-612):

hic magicos adfert cantus, hic Thessala vendit
philtira, quibus valeat mentem vexare mariti
et solea pulsare natis.

The Armenian or Commagenian soothsayer, examining the lungs of a dove, promises a youthful lover to a woman, or an inheritance from a rich, childless man; he scrutinizes the breast of chickens, or the *exta* of a whelp, or even of a boy (6.548-552).

The *religio* which man feels in the presence of the forces of nature, which he does not understand, is well expressed in 13.223-226, where Juvenal describes the man who has committed an evil deed as trembling at thunder and lightning, believing that they have been sent by an untoward divinity.

The Jews are mentioned at least twice by Juvenal. We have in 14.96-99 a curious perversion of the Jewish belief:

quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem
nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant,
nec distare putant humana carne suillam
qua pater abstinuit....

The Jews, he says, have regard for the laws of their native land and of Moses, scorning those of Rome. They refuse to point out the way to anyone who is not a Jew. The passage concludes (105-106):

sed pater in causa, cui septima quaeque fuit lux
ignava et partem vitae non attigit ullam.

In 6.542-547, Juvenal mentions the Jewess, who, after the priest of Isis has withdrawn,

...cophino faenoque relicto
arcanam Iudaea tremens mendicat in aurem,
interpretes legum Solymarum et magna sacerdos
arboris ac summi fida internuntia caeli.
implet et illa manum, sed parcius: aere minuto
qualiacumque voles Iudaei somnia vendunt.

The divinities mentioned in Juvenal are as follows⁷:

(1) Italian: Janus, Jupiter, Diana Nemorensis, Terminus, Mars, Bellona, Quirinus, Vesta, Di Penates, Lares, Genius, Juno, Ceres, Flora, Saturn, Silvanus, Luperus, Neptune, Egeria, Venus, and the goddesses who were the personification of abstract ideas: Concordia, Pax, Fides, Virtus, Victoria; (2) Greek: Apollo, Pallas, Priapus (Asia Minor); (3) Celtic: Epona; (4) Eastern: Cybele, Isis, Osiris. A glance at this list shows clearly Juvenal's preference for his native Italian gods and his neglect of the Greek gods; and we are not surprised, for he continually damns all things Greek as the source of all the ills of Rome. In 3.58-61 he represents Umbricius as saying:

quae nunc divitibus gens acceptissima nostris,
et quos praecipue fugiam, properabo fateri,
nec pudor opstabit. non possum ferre, Quirites,
Graecam urbem (quamvis quota portio faecis
Achaei)....

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ELI EDWARD BURRIS

⁷This classification is based on the fact that the deities mentioned were, in their origin, Italian, Greek, or Eastern, for, by the time of Juvenal, there were many different elements in their make-up.

THE CLASSICS IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH¹

According to the allegory, Clio was the first in order of birth of the daughters of the God of Light and the Goddess of Memory. We do not believe that she was the least favored. The foundations of history both as an art and as a science are in the classical past. The classical legacy which, taken up four hundred years ago with new zeal, transformed all fields of learning, has not yet spent its force.

The Classics will never cease to be of service as patterns in historical writing. To be sure, we would not submit to Herodotus's rule, that one must report all that was said, nor would we report speeches after the manner of Thucydides. But the care of the classical historian in the recital of his narrative and the perfection of his literary art were never more in point than to-day. To-day, countless productions of the ripest scholarship lie unpublished, or at least are unnoticed, without an audience, because, though they may be of sterling worth as history, they are without life as literature.

Even in the best known of the classical histories there is much that yet remains to be utilized. We cannot say that the day of the Classics is done for the historian. Though the ancients produced genuine history, they were especially interested in adorning the tale or in pointing the moral. In telling their tales they display the exhaustiveness of literature rather than the close accuracy of history. Strangely enough, this characteristic will forever keep our classical fountains from running dry. It is ours to draw the proper conclusions from the data given. If we would write correctly the *Culturgeschichte* of the past, we can no more safely neglect the general mass of literary remains than, in writing the *Culturgeschichte* of the twentieth century, we can safely neglect to employ, in addition to our more formal history, our newspapers, our drama, and our novels. In the year 4000 A. D. the historian who shall write of our era will doubtless use even Main Street and Babbitt.

Our historians of the classical past have been too prone to cling to the more formal efforts of an earlier civilization to record its present or its immediate past. When they did seek sidelights, they relied too much, perhaps, on archaeology to supplement the meager narrative, instead of using to the full the more spontaneous expressions of the ancient mind in the general mass of the ancient literature.

Yet, even so, we have not, after all, used to the full our archaeological knowledge to supplement and explain classical material. We have long known that Augustus was aware that it paid to advertise, and that he too took pains to see that posterity should know him as he would have himself be known. We have, indeed, pointed to his *Res Gestae* and to the fact that he subsidized men of letters to glorify his achievements. But we have not generally pointed, as Professor Rostovtzeff has pointed so well, to the close correlation between these things and manifestations of

the same tendency in the art of the period. A too great willingness to form airtight compartments of classical archaeology, history, literature, philology has prevented us from arriving at a full and adequate estimate of the historical value of our classical literary remains. Until this synthesis can be made, the definitive history of the classical past will not be written. We should not now seriously attempt to write a history of the Minoan Age without drawing heavily upon the researches of Sir Arthur Evans, nor in writing a biography of Vergil should we rely entirely on Donatus's (Suetonius's) *Life of Vergil* and kindred materials. Yet in much of our handling of historical problems we have proceeded in a way suspiciously analogous to the ways we have characterized in the foregoing sentence as objectionable.

Recent years have disclosed a remarkable mass of contemporary documents, inscriptions, and papyri. Inevitably these will blaze out new trails or illuminate old facts. Historians always have ridden, perhaps always will ride, hobbies. One age finds the political aspects of history fashionable, another the social, another the economic, another the ethnic. But, until our materials shall be canvassed from all these points of view, indeed from all possible points of view, the historian's task will remain uncompleted.

Our development of the study of ancient history has shown great unevenness. It has not yet attained proper proportions. We must give due heed to periods as yet more or less neglected. The Hellenistic Age, for example, is a fertile field which has, thus far, suffered from neglect.

Perhaps we have not been fully aware that there is little pure invention in historical materials. Often an old fact is merely being recited in the contemporary nomenclature. Desire to glorify some national hero or to bolster up some shaky chronology has, however, often led to an invention which, if understood, may yield light on the age describing rather than on the age described.

My plea is not that we expand our credulity to find continued use for the classical materials, but that we be not suspicious merely because we are surprised. We should rather use all the auxiliary sciences we have, in the effort to determine whether there is not some sanction in fact for what is related in the literature. The great lesson of Schliemann's life should not be lost on the historian. A given mass of material may not yield particular data, but it may be of even greater value as a social document. Confirmations of statements in ancient accounts are liable to come at any time. We can never foretell when some valuable Oxyrhynchus papyrus may come to light. Systematic exploration in these later days going hand in hand with systematic study of the texts is apt to continue to furnish us with startling confirmations of old statements, even of old statements previously rejected.

Thus far I have spoken of the Classics as the student of history uses them. May I offer a brief for the study of ancient history in our Schools and Colleges? How faulty must any instruction in history be which

¹This paper was read at a meeting of The Washington Classical Club, on February 28, 1925.

neglects the origins! With its antecedents disregarded how can any age be understood or properly described?

The teacher must not hold back the ancient documents for personal perusal and investigation in the secrecy of his chamber. He must let Pindar sing of the victories at the Games, Aeschylus describe the glories of the victory at Salamis, Hesiod illumine the Dark Age, and Plato lead his hearers to the feet of Socrates. With Xenophon the student should march back from Cunaxa, and from Herodotus he should learn how glorious was death at Thermopylae. Teachers are too fond of secondary authorities and source books. They should bring out the complete work, quote from that, in translation, it must needs be for most pupils, and so kindle, in some students at least, a desire to know the rest of the work, and, finally, to be able to handle the originals.

The student of ancient history, then, is not yet through with the literary remains of the classical past. To canvass those remains from new points of view, to compare them with newly discovered monuments, papyri, or other documents, or with older documents of this sort now more perfectly understood, to examine them, finally, in the light of his own ever-changing, and, we hope, constantly enlarging and improving civilization, must yet require years, and must call for hosts of new students.

Macaulay once wrote as follows:

A young man, whatever his genius may be, is no judge of such a writer as Thucydides. I had no high opinion of him ten years ago. I have now been reading him with a mind accustomed to historical researches and to political affairs; and I am astonished at my former blindness and at his greatness.

So our comparatively youthful science of history cannot disregard, safely, the classical literature, but, as it matures, it will turn back more and more to that literature, and will marvel at its own blindness.

THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C. ELMER LOUIS KAYSER

REVIEWS

The Philosophy of Grammar. By Otto Jespersen. New York: Henry Holt (1924). Pp. 359.

The contents of Professor Otto Jespersen's book, The Philosophy of Grammar, are as follows:

I. Living Grammar (17-29); II.-III. Systematic Grammar (30-57); IV. Parts of Speech (58-71); V. Substantives and Adjectives (72-81); VI. Parts of Speech (*concluded*) (82-95); VII. The Three Ranks (96-107); VIII. Junction and Nexus (108-116); IX. Various Kinds of Nexus (117-132); X. Nexus-Substantives. Final Words on Nexus (133-144); XI. Subject and Predicate (145-156); XII. Object. Active and Passive (157-172); XIII. Case (173-187); XIV.-XV. Number (188-211); XVI. Person (212-225); XVII. Sex and Gender (226-243); XVIII. Comparison (244-253); XIX.-XX. Time and Tense (254-289); XXI. Direct and Indirect Speech (290-300); XXII. Classification of Utterances (301-312); XXIII. Moods (313-321); XXIV. Negation (322-337); XXV. Conclusion (338-347); Appendix (349-351); Index (353-359).

The grammar of a language is composed of a number of generalizations, some of which are stated in the form

of paradigms and others in the form of rules, while the special facts which cannot conveniently be combined into generalizations form the dictionary. Since language is almost as many-sided as thought itself, grammatical generalizations have to be made from several different and incongruous points of view. Latin *servi* (gen. sing.) may be classified as containing the termination *i* (a class which would include certain datives singular, certain nominatives plural, etc.), as a noun, as a singular, as of the second declension, as masculine, as genitive, etc. The phrase, L. Domitio Ap. Claudio consulibus, may be classified on the basis of its form as ablative, on the basis of its function in the sentence as an expression of time (date) or of attendant circumstances, or on the basis of the relation of its words to one another as virtually equivalent to the sentence, L. Domitius Ap. Claudius consules erant (for this conception Jespersen uses the term "nexus"), or one may base a classification upon the origin of the phrase, or upon the fact that it is somewhat loosely attached to the rest of the sentence. Probably no Grammar includes all the generalizations that are true of the particular language treated, and there is room for great variety in the arrangement of such generalizations as are stated. For example, a Latin Grammar that should treat in one place all ways of expressing possession, in another all ways of expressing the whole of which a part is taken, and in a third all ways of characterizing a noun would differ considerably from the existing Grammars.

Now, I am inclined to think that the system of treating Latin grammar which has been worked out in the course of twenty centuries is, except in some details, about as convenient as any that can be devised; but no man should consider himself fully equipped for the scientific study of Latin syntax until he has given careful thought to the syntactic generalizations which are treated less fully or even omitted by the existing Grammars. Professor Jespersen's new book will suggest a number of these.

Among the passages most likely to assist classical scholars are those containing the treatment of "nexus". This treatment includes discussions of such phrases as *ab urbe condita*, of the gerund and the gerundive, of the ablative absolute (Chapter IX), and of predicative and verbal substantives (Chapter X, especially page 143).

One important point that emerges even more clearly than the author seems to realize is the impossibility of framing a satisfactory definition of many grammatical terms. There are scarcely any differences among scholars in the usage of the term 'adjective'; but all definitions of it are open to serious objection. Professor Jespersen (Chapter V) distinguishes adjectives from substantives as being more general—applying to more objects or ideas; *feminine* and a *female* seem at first glance to cover the same ground, but a *feminine voice* cannot be called a *female*. The phrase a *rich widow* has been held to disprove the theory, since there are more widows than rich people; but, says Professor Jespersen (79) "...*rich* may be said of towns, villages, countries, mines, spoils, stores, rewards, attire, ex-

perience, sculpture, repast, cakes, cream, rimes, and so forth". The distinction holds to a surprising degree, and Professor Jespersen draws some interesting conclusions from it; but as a definition it is neither practically useful nor logically sound. We need not therefore discard the term 'adjective'; instead we must admit that language is imperfectly logical, and that, in consequence, our description of it cannot be perfectly logical. Beginners in the study of grammar must learn to recognize adjectives by practice, as they have always done. Neither the old definitions nor any new definitions are likely to help.

Professor Jespersen's observations on the Modern Languages will frequently suggest to classical scholars novel ways of looking at certain facts of Greek and Latin. For example, there is a discussion in Chapter XXI of a compromise between direct and indirect discourse, which is fairly common in modern literature. It is illustrated by a passage from Thackeray (290-291):

I don't envy Pen's feelings as he thought of what he had done. He had slept, and the tortoise had won the race. He had marred at its outset what might have been a brilliant career. He had dipped ungenerously into a generous mother's purse; basely and recklessly spilt her little cruse. Oh! it was a coward hand that could strike and wound a creature so tender.... His wounded tutor, his many duns, the undergraduates of his own time and the years below him, whom he had patronized and scorned—how could he bear to look any of them in the face now?

This sort of thing differs from ordinary indirect discourse chiefly in retaining interjections and direct questions and commands, while it differs from direct discourse in the management of persons and tenses. The usage has been thought to be entirely modern; but Latin occasionally has something similar. So Horace, *Carm.* 3. 2. 9-12, prays for a strong and brave Roman soldier and that a girl standing on the enemy's wall may catch sight of him and

suspiret, eheu, ne rudis agminum
sponsus lacessat regius asperum
tactu leonem, quem cruenta
per medias rapit ira caedes.

The use of *ehou* and the indicative *rapit* mark this off from indirect discourse, while the use of the third person *lacessat* prevents our calling the passage a direct quotation.

Professor Jespersen's book is particularly important for its bearing upon English grammar. It follows from the nature of grammar, as outlined above, that a system which is satisfactory for the treatment of Latin cannot be satisfactory for so different a language as English. Many generations of schoolmasters have tried to put Latin shackles upon our vigorous and progressive speech. They have failed, of course, but they have pretty effectually hidden the real structure of the language from most of its speakers. It will probably take a long time to work out the best possible grammatical system for English, but Jespersen's way of going about the task is the only sound one.

YALE UNIVERSITY

E. H. STURTEVANT

Stoicism and Its Influence. By R. M. Wenley. Boston: Marshall Jones Company (1924). Pp. xi + 194.

The volume entitled *Stoicism and Its Influence*, by R. M. Wenley, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Michigan, belongs to the Series entitled *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*. It will, no doubt, be read by many, as it ought to be.

The reader is apt to ask, What is Stoicism? If one replies that it is a philosophy, he will press the further question, What is philosophy? The latter question, admitting of many answers, is particularly pertinent in regard to Stoicism, and here seems to demand a definite reply, while in relation, for example, to Platonism it might not even occur to one to raise it. The reason is not far to seek. Professor Wenley says (vi):

Although a protest rather than a science, an outgrowth of emotional stress rather than of intellectual curiosity, Stoicism was destined to rank among the formative ethico-political movements characteristic of the western world. Despite its obvious shortcomings, despite its lack of originality, circumstances lent it an influence destined to survive for generations.

A philosophy which may be so characterized is obviously one of a kind quite different from the Platonic.

Regarded as a system of doctrine, the Stoic philosophy was presented under three heads: (1) logic, (2) ethics, (3) physics. Logic to the Stoic was chiefly a weapon of defence, borrowed from Aristotle. To it he made one—valuable—contribution. His physics he took from Heraclitus and Aristotle, combining the ingredients in a pantheistic materialism, which tended more and more to become spiritualized. His ethics, except at one point, was practically the popular philosophy of the day, dominated by certain Socratic ideals. How true this is, is clearly shown by Seneca, who quotes Epicurus quite as often as he quotes the masters of the Porch. Gradually the interest of the Stoics became concentrated on ethics, which had from the beginning been paramount. Under these circumstances it is difficult to decide what is or is not specifically Stoic.

In fact, in many cases Stoicism is a matter of mood or temperament. It is, as Professor Wenley says, the expression of a spirit of protest—a protest against the fatalism which Stoic physics taught. Epicureanism, in the ethical sphere, is likewise a protest against the physical determinism of its own system. At bottom the difference is one of mood or temperament. The Epicurean demands only to be let alone that he may lead a rational life, while the Stoic, more energetic, and aspiring to take an active part in the world, seeks happiness in a selfdetermined cooperation, or, at least, a willed acquiescence, in a world-process whose course he is impotent to change. He will be at least the captain of his own soul.

Since this was the Stoic outlook on life, it is intelligible that the champions of lost causes, such as the champions of the Roman Republic, who instinctively felt that their cause was irretrievably lost, but could not and would not forego a final protest, however vain,

against the forces they could not withstand, embraced or found spiritual comfort in Stoicism. But it was to them a way of life, conformable to their temperament, and not primarily an intellectual view or what we should to-day call a philosophy. The thread of continuity that justifies one in grouping these adherents of Stoicism together is to be found less in a system of thought than in their common allegiance to an ideal and in the fact that they sought and found inspiration in the example of the same exemplars. In other words, Stoicism was in good part a religion of hero-worship.

Plato says that the equable character does not lend itself to the uses of the dramatist, who finds his congenial subjects in the emotional sort of men; but he would be the last to overlook the fact that a great many Stoics had a love for the theatrical in their behavior. Not the least interesting aspect of the Stoics, as one surveys the tale of their lives, is that in which they reveal the traits of common humanity through the rents of the austere garments in which they invest themselves. In this also the Stoic betrays his descent from the Cynic.

Professor Wenley's book will furnish entertaining reading for many. Perhaps others may feel, as I do, that it would have lost nothing if its author's style had been at times more dignified.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

W. A. HEIDEL

Platonism and Its Influence. By Alfred Edward Taylor. Boston: Marshal Jones Company (1924). Pp. ix + 153.

Mr. A. E. Taylor, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, is well known to students of ancient philosophy. Many have used with profit his Aristotle and his Predecessors, and most have at least some acquaintance with his *Varia Socratica*, and with his numerous contributions to philosophical journals. To all these it is unnecessary to say that he commands a trenchant and thought-provoking style, and that they may expect to find in the volume under review, *Platonism and Its Influence*, a volume of the Series entitled *Our Debt to Greece and Rome*, an essay surcharged with learning and suggestion. To others it will suffice to add that they will do well to make the author's acquaintance through the medium of this book.

To write the history of Platonism and its influence in a volume of whatever length is out of the question, and nobody is more fully aware of the fact than Professor Taylor, who says, in his Preface, "The writer's object in the following pages has deliberately been not so much to supply information as to provoke the desire for it". He could at best offer only a sketch. If he had attempted to catalogue those who have felt the influence of Plato, he must have included the names of nearly all the great who have lived from that far-off age down to our own. No one would read such a catalogue. Our author therefore took the only reasonable course, that of offering suggestions regarding the chief directions in which Plato's influence has been felt. The body of the essay falls into four chap-

ters: I. The Platonic Tradition; II. The Principles of Science; III. The Rule of Life; IV. Plato the Theologian. Notes (11 pages), a Bibliography, and an Index of Proper Names complete the handy little volume.

It is inconceivable that a writer holding so positive views regarding Plato as Professor Taylor holds should fail in a measure to incorporate them in his essay. Though I do not share certain of his theories, I do not object to his setting them forth, for they are calculated to provoke thought and further study, and that is, after all, the best service a writer on such a theme can render. The restricted limits set to his exposition precluded a detailed exposition and defence of his views, and it would serve no useful purpose here to specify the points at which I differ from him. A criticism in detail would be unfair and profitless. I will, therefore, content myself with saying that I found the book so interesting that I read it through at a sitting on the train, and happily completed it just as I reached my destination. Had it been otherwise, I might have been embarrassed at finding myself where I had no desire to be.

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

W. A. HEIDEL

Five Stages of Greek Religion. By Gilbert Murray. New York: Columbia University Press (1925). Pp. 276. \$3.75.

Professor Gilbert Murray's book, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, consists of the original work, *Four Stages of Greek Religion* (1912), with an additional chapter, *The Last Protest* (211-238). There is nothing in the book under review to indicate when *Four Stages of Greek Religion* was published. For a review of that book, by Professor W. A. Heidel, see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 7.118-120.

The Preface to the new version of the work is less than a page long. Of its two paragraphs the first explains the genesis of the present book. The original work had contained chapters entitled *Saturnia Regna*, *The Olympian Conquest*, *The Great Schools*, and *The Failure of Nerve*. In the new Preface Professor Murray writes as follows:

... The high-water mark of Greek religious thought seems to me to have come just between the Olympian Religion and the Failure of Nerve; and the decline—if that is the right word—which is observable in the later ages of antiquity is a decline not from Olympianism but from the great spiritual and intellectual effort of the fourth century B. C., which culminated in the *Metaphysics* and the *De Anima* and the foundation of the Stoa and the Garden. Consequently I have added a new chapter at this point and raised the number of stages to five.

He has, besides, corrected two or three errors. "Otherwise I have altered little. I am only sorry to have left the book so long out of print".

In *The Classical Review* 39.185-186 (November-December, 1925), Mr. W. R. Halliday, who characterizes Professor Murray as "the teacher to whom my personal debt is incalculable", declares that his "pietas towards <his teacher> is in conflict with honesty". He regards the first two lectures in this book as

fantastic and calculated to give a completely wrong idea of the nature of Greek religion. The speculations in *Saturnia Regna* are based not upon facts but upon a series of wild hypotheses most of which are by now discredited, and there is some indication that Professor Murray is here off his field and has not really mastered what is known for certain about the material.

In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 7.119 Professor W. A. Heidel had said:

The latter half of the book thus rests in the main upon solid foundations, whereas the former half seems to consist for the most part of a tissue of speculations and hypotheses which cannot be verified.

Of the new chapter, The Last Protest (209-238), Professor Halliday speaks more favorably (186):

It sketches with the author's practised and eloquent charm the origin of the Cynic, Stoic, and Epicurean schools. I personally feel that the active side to Epicureanism, a mission to make other men happy, is stated more strongly than the facts warrant.

It may be noted that, in both editions, Professor Murray has given a translation, in full, of a "very curious and little-known ancient text, which may be said to constitute something like an authoritative pagan creed" (10: Preface to the first edition). This document is the treatise of Sallustius 'On the Gods and the World' (241-267). Professor Murray mentions Sallustius on pages 199, 217-219, 222-224, 232, but only on pages 217-219 do we get definite information concerning him. There Professor Murray calls Sallustius's treatise a "Creed or Catechism". It is printed in the third volume of Mullach, *Fragmenta Philosophorum*; otherwise it is most readily accessible in a duodecimo edition, now rare, published by Allatius in 1539. Professor Murray thinks that Sallustius was in all probability that Sallustius who is known to us as a close friend of Julian before his accession, and a backer or inspirer of the emperor's effort to restore the old religion.... He was given the rank of prefect in 362, that of consul in 363....

For this Sallustius Julian had a very warm regard. In his eighth oration, a 'Consolation to Himself Upon the Departure of Sallustius', Julian describes Sallustius as "the one man to whom he could talk as a brother; the man of 'guileless and clean free-speech', who was honest and unafraid and able to contradict the emperor freely because of their mutual trust" (218). Julian compares his friendship with Sallustius to that of Scipio and Laelius (219). Says Professor Murray (219),

Sallustius then may be taken to represent in the most authoritative way the Pagan reaction of Julian's time, in its final struggle against Christianity.

Sallustius's treatise is well worth reading.

CHARLES KNAPP

CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

I

The American Historical Review—April, Review, very favorable, by M. Rostovtzeff, of V. Gordon Childe,

The Dawn of European Civilization ["one of the best books that have been written on the difficult and thorny questions of prehistoric archaeology, a book free from racial prejudices... and from any bias, a book full of useful information and interesting suggestions"]; Review, favorable, by W. S. Ferguson, of Rachel L. Sargent, The Size of the Slave Population at Athens during the Fifth and Fourth Centuries Before Christ [a study which permits "of conclusions, concordant in the main with those of Beloch, that the slave population of Attica numbered approximately half the free—97,000 to 73,000 in the time of Pericles and 60,000 to 70,000 a century later"]].

The Atlantic Monthly—April, 1926, Helen in Egypt, Emily James Putnam [a story based on Herodotus 2.113-115, 120].—May, Hippocides Doesn't Care, Emily James Putnam [a story based on Herodotus 6. 126-131].

The Commonweal—June 2, Latin and Mass Education, Francis P. Donnelly, S. J. [interesting reflections on the historic development of classical studies, and on the proper aims of the study of the Classics, in School, College, and University].

The Contemporary Review—April, Ulysses in Greek Tragedy, W. Rhys Roberts. Professor Roberts's aim is

to touch briefly on some of the ways in which the Ulysses found in the Greek tragedians differs from, or tallies with, the Homeric Ulysses; and, still more briefly, on some possible reasons for the marked decline which the patient hero's character often shows in poems later than those of his literary creator.

The London Mercury—April, Review, generally favorable, by A. Y. Campbell, of the following books: E. Rohde, *Psyche* [an English translation, by W. B. Hillis, of the eighth edition]; Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*; M. P. Nilsson, *A History of Greek Religion*; Herbert Weir Smyth, *Aeschylean Tragedy*; Gilbert Norwood, *The Writers of Greece*; and John U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina*].

Rationalist Press Annual, for 1926—The Trial of Socrates, J. B. Bury [this Annual was published in October last in London, England, by the Rationalist Press Association, Ltd. Professor Bury's article is to be found on pages 17-26].

The Saturday Review of Literature—May 29, The Gentleman of Verona, Elmer Davis [a review, favorable, of F. A. Wright, *Catullus, The Complete Poems, Translated and Edited* (The Broadway Translations), with extended remarks on the development of Catullus's poetry and on his relations with Lesbia].

CHARLES KNAPP